The "Gore Plan" Was Dr. Teller's, P. 4

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Those Berlin Pin-Pricks and Krupps' New Line of Goods

The average American probably regards the new uproar over Berlin as another bit of mischief making by that fellow, Krushchev. In the coffee bars of the Pentagon, it is regarded gratefully as another of those Soviet "blunders" committed just in time for the annual wrangle over military expenditures; it will be hard to cut the Army, as planned, with alarm bells ringing in West Germany. Very few Americans—in the State Department only those studious experts who seem to be consulted only by the charladies—will associate Soviet pressure on that exposed Western nerve in Berlin with the NATO discussions to be held in Paris this month. These were supposed to ratify what we regard as a foregone conclusion—revision of treaty restrictions to clear the way for giving nuclear arms to the Germans. It should not be difficult to imagine that the Russians and Poles, who have not yet finished cleaning up the mess left by the Germans last time, may be nervous about giving them bigger and better means of demolition so soon. Maybe we ought to be a little thoughtful about it, too.

Nuclear Arms Next for Red China?

This is what Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (*D. Minn.*) tried to suggest in a press conference he held at Geneva after sitting in on the nuclear test negotiations and talking with the Soviet delegates. He said Soviet policies on nuclear tests and surprise attacks depended to a great extent on whether the U. S. provided nuclear arms for West Germany. This made more sense than anything which has come out of the Geneva deadlock, but it was ignored or brushed aside in most American papers last Sunday, as they tend to brush aside whatever does not fit official cold war stereotypes. The *New York Times* (Nov. 23) carried the best and most complete story, from Drew Middleton in Geneva, putting it on page one for the first edition but then burying it inside on page 42 for its main run, badly jumbling the type in the process, as if someone had phoned from upstairs to get that story off page one before Mr. Dulles saw it and called Mr. Sulzberger personally. Mr. Middleton reported that the Senator's views "are known to be close to those reported by diplomats here who have become increasingly apprehensive about the effect in Europe of the suggested United States action." The Senator noted that it would be a strange thing to arm the Germans with nuclear weapons "while talking about restriction of nuclear arms." A source Mr. Middleton did not identify added that if we give such arms to the Germans, the Russians would give them to the Chinese. If public opinion here were not in such an induced stupor, it would be recognized that this is a serious threat and a high price to pay for Mr. Dulles's dream of a nuclear Reich, able to resume its historic push eastward with improved firepower.

No Evidence of Disagreement?

When Mr. Dulles got back from Duck Island last Monday he insisted to reporters who met him on arrival that there was "no evidence at all" of disagreement on Berlin among the Allied powers. This is only true in the limited sense that no one is proposing to march out of West Berlin under Soviet pressure. Even here inside the government there is no agreement on what to do if and when the Russians hand over control of traffic to the East Germans. The West Germans already deal with the East Germans on a wide range of trade and traffic problems, including civilian access and supply to West Berlin. Some officials here see no reason why we cannot do likewise. As for the air lanes, "even if the East Germans were to assume representation at the Air Safety Centre," the London *Times* reported from Berlin November 14, "there would be no question of recognition. The procedure at the Centre is unilateral to the extent that the allies do not request permission to land aircraft, but merely file flight plans stating where aircraft will be at a specific time." Those are pins, not bayonets, which are pricking us. The disproportionate howls, even before we know what the Russians are really going to let their East German puppets do, merely reflects our sensitivity at a point of soft and comfortable but obsolete policy.

Brand New Variety of "War Criminal"

The objectives of the pressure on Berlin were indicated in the Krushchev-Gomulka statement of November 11, which called again for a summit conference and endorsed the newly revised Rapacki plan. This would open the way to a denuclearized zone in Central Europe and the East European satellite States, coupling this with reduction in conventional arms and a system of inspection. In such a context Germany could safely be reunited. This Polish initiative has been welcomed in England by publications as diverse as the London *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian, The New Statesman, The Economist* and the *Observer.* It is supported in the new British Labor Party election manifesto. British opinion, like Scandinavian, regards the prospect of nuclear arms for Germany with foreboding. It is only along the Bonn-Washington, Adenauer-Dulles axis, that it is welcomed. Western Europe stirs uneasily at the sight of the Krupps in the consortium now building Germany's first atomic power plant (London *Sunday Times,* Nov. 2) and at the characteristically obtuse and abusive way the German Defense Minister Strauss stigmatizes as "war criminals" (*Die Welt,* Hamburg, Nov. 10) those who, by backing the Rapacki plan, would keep nuclear arms from the Germans! Isn't it time we remembered that German arms have a habit of shooting West as well as East?

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U. S. Protestant Church Study Group Calls For Red China Recognition . . .

The tendency of the press to muffle voices of peace was again evident last week in the scant attention given to the Message adopted in Cleveland, Ohio, by the Fifth World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches of Christ. Not the least striking aspect of this Message was its adoption after an address by the Secretary of State. It opposes virtually every aspect of the policies associated with John Foster Dulles. We print here a slightly abridged version of the full text as finally approved, though with slight changes of phrasing still to be made by the Drafting Committee. We believe it deserves the highest praise for courageous application of religious principles, and that it can be a potent weapon in public education for peace.

"From churchmen assembled in Cleveland at the Fifth World Order Conference of the National Council of Churches; to the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. The peace of God be with you, and His grace be with us all while we study the peace of his world.

"The five years since the last such conference on international relations have brought no noticeable adjustment of the moral and ideological conflict between communist and non-communist nations, no noticeable abatement of the suspicions and dubieties that set them still at such dangerous odds. Instead, more and more frightening scientific discoveries—ever vaster destruction guaranteed ever swifter delivery—are still advanced as military reassurance.

"Should either the U. S. or the Soviet Union commit its full power to all-out international war, mutual destruction would ensue. Great cities would lie in ruins; whole populations would be annihilated; a radioactive plague would settle on the earth; the well-being, perhaps even the existence, of future generations would be placed in grave jeopardy.

We Cannot Wait for The 'Bad' to Be Converted

"The immediate task of every Christian is to seize the initiative in the prevention of war and the achievement of peace in a world of intercontinental ballistics, thermonuclear weapons, and platforms in outer space for missile launching sites. We cannot sit complacently and hopefully behind the moral subterfuge which divides the world into 'good and bad' peoples, waiting for the 'bad' ones to be converted to our position. To do this is to insure the inevitability of war.

"Lulled by well-worn phrases of 'deterrence,' 'limited war,' 'massive retaliation' and 'the power to win a war' the people of the United States may still not realize the magnitude of the destructive weapons at the instant command of Washington and Moscow. 'The power to win a war' has lost its significance when used in connection with such weapons.

"Thus we find ourselves always on the brink of annihilation. In case of a real or imagined attack the decisions that may lead to ultimate war will have to be made in a few moments. There is real danger that error in judgment, born of panic, may precipitate the war no one wants and that no one can hope to survive.

Reliance on Limited War Precarious

"Limited wars have in the past been conducted with the expectation that they could be contained in time, space and violence by the will of the powers involved. While such wars may continue until means for prevention, including more reliable methods for the peaceful solution of disputes have been effectively developed, the advent of nuclear weapons and their increasing availability for all forms of conflict pose a danger of utmost gravity.

"The new weapons now in being and the even more fearful ones now in prospect both on this planet and in outer space, underscore the imperative need of concentration on the prevention rather than the limitation of war.

"Progress toward universal disarmament is of major importance (1) in the achievement of world order, (2) in reducing the threat of war, (3) in lessening the tension between nations, (4) in curbing the spreading influence of military establishments on the entire life of nations, (5) in lifting the staggering cost of armaments from peoples everywhere, thus freeing them for constructive purposes.

Cessation of Nuclear Testing As First Step

"Disarmament is a process involving spirit and will as well as conference and treaties. We urge Christians to exhort their government to continued willingness to meet and discuss the means of disarmament by multilateral agreement involving satisfactory inspection and control of nuclear weapons as well as the progressive reduction of conventional arms. It is highly important that the U. S. which gave initial impetus to international action for the peaceful uses of atomic energy should fully and faithfully support the International Atomic Energy Agency. The suspension of nuclear tests under appropriate control and inspection is a first step toward halting the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. We renew the plea made by the National Council of Churches for the abolition of Universal Military Training.

"*Disarmament conferences are an essential part of the* continuing process of building world law and order. The alternative confronted in the breakdown of any given conference is not a renewal of the arms race, but a renewal of negotiations. The patience to persist must be equal to the urgency of the need. We deplore the tendency to discredit the motives and proposals for disarmament when made by anyone but ourselves. Vigilance and realistic precautions are necessary, but cynicism about the good faith of each other on all counts is a poisonous atmosphere in which to try to conduct negotiations.

Praise for the United Nations

"The record of the UN to date, even though it necessarily reflects the weakness of a divided world, proves that it lives and grows in this time of troubles. As a world forum, as a means to peaceful settlement, as a method of harmonizing the actions of nations for human welfare, the UN has made important headway. Chiefly in the field of security has the original plan envisaged in the Charter broken down. Yet even here, the existence of the UN has made a difference.

"The General Assembly has made important contributions in this field. The programs to further economic and social development, to promote the advancement and emancipation of dependent peoples, and to help care for those uprooted by war and tyranny, stand in the front rank of efforts for peaceful change. We would particularly congratulate the Secretary General on the initiative he has shown in helping to bring about the peaceful settlement of disputes through the exercise of 'quiet diplomacy' and the powers inherent in his office.

Why We Ought to Recognize Red China and Admit It Into the United Nations

"With reference to China, Christians should urge reconsideration by our government of its policy in regard to the People's Republic of China. While the rights of the people of Taiwan and of Korea should be safeguarded, steps should be taken toward the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for its recognition by our government. Such recognition does not imply approval. These diplomatic relationships should constitute a part of a much wider relationship between our peoples. The exclusion of the effective government on the mainland of China, currently the People's Republic of China, from the international community is in many ways a disadvantage. It helps to preserve a false image of the United States and of other nations in the minds of the Chinese people. It keeps our people in ignorance of what is taking place in China. It hampers negotiations for disarmament. It limits the functioning of international organizations.

"We have a strong hope that the resumption of relationships between the peoples of China and of the United States may make possible also a restoration of relationships between their churches and ours."

—Final Recommendations to National Council Churches.

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. . . In Plea For Co-Existence and Disarmament Abroad, Racial Justice At Home

We Must Reassess the Assumptions of the Cold War

"There is need for reassessment of the attitudes of American Churchmen with reference to relationships with countries having Communist parties in control of government. In such a review the Christian proceeds from boundless faith in the overwhelming power of God's love and the ultimate triumph of His righteousness. The Marxists hold that Communism will ultimately prevail.

"The 'cold war' of today is a result of the tensions which spring both from ideological differences and from conflicting national aspirations. It had its roots in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and its intensity has grown with the extension of Communist domination. In Russia and China, Communist philosophy has endeavored to assimilate the deep traditional sense of national destiny. The struggle has thus assumed realistic geographical dimensions with roots as well as objectives in national economy, culture and social organizations. However, this process of assimilation of ancient religiously imbued cultures into a Godless culture is not complete; in fact, there is evidence that God continues to live in the hearts of millions in countries where the Communist party has achieved control. It cannot be said, therefore, that the cold war is one of geographic dimensions only, for both sides claim moral objectives in terms of the well-being of mankind.

"Factors entering into the cold war are highly complicated. There is a moral challenge to conviction and principle, to which we cannot yield. There is also a threat to our national security, heightened by the almost limitless destructiveness of modern weapons, but to reduce the total tensions to moral terms is unjustifiable.

"Where Communism is strong in its power of attraction, military power on our side may be quite irrelevant and much brandishing of it on our part may weaken our cause. Though military power in the non-Communist world remains a necessity, its limits should be more clearly recognized, and far more of our attention and of our resources should go into the task of helping nations find their own way to solutions of their social and economic problems.

The Search for Co-Existence

"Stronger efforts should be made to break through the present stalemate and to find ways of living with the Communist nations. Sometimes this is called 'co-existence,' but we are concerned with something more than the minimum meaning of the word. Our relationship with the Communist nations should combine competition between ways of life with cooperation for limited objectives, our resistance to Communist expansion goes with recognition of the fact that Communist nations as nations, have their own legitimated interests and their own reasonable fears. We should avoid the posture of general hostility to them and cease the practice of continual moral lectures to them by our leaders.

"In the cold war we allow ourselves to drift into a defensive position in which we hesitate to admit any imperfections in our society, lest it confirm the Communist indictment; thus we inhibit the self-criticism which is essential to the health of a democracy. We tend to make opposition to Communism the touchstone for policy both in domestic life and in international relations.

Hope in New Communist Generations

"There is real hope that new generations within the Communist countries will be less fanatical in their ideological convictions and that they will be more preoccupied with peace, with economic well-being and with tentative experiments in cultural freedom than with the effort to dominate other nations. It is not to be expected that they will formally renounce what we consider to be their errors. It is enough for the kind of living together described above if their emphasis and priorities change. The establishment of good relations will require tireless negotiations with them and imaginative programs of communication, cultural exchange and personal contacts.

"We should welcome the fact that the world is not divided into two solid political blocs. The effort of our own government to drive every nation into one bloc or the other has been as mistaken as it has been unsuccessful.

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In the New Underdeveloped Countries

"During the last fifteen years more than 20 nations have achieved political independence. Significant economic changes have come about in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, especially in the villages in which the bulk of the people dwell. Agricultural reform in respect of land tenure and methods of cultivation have taken place. The impact of Western civilization has brought about increased industrialization and urbanization in many lands. Vast increases in population have taken place. All these economic changes have brought in their train radical social and cultural changes. More than 150 years of the Christian mission have been at least partly responsible for some of the present turmoil.

"We must discover the real needs of others; not what we want to give but what they must have. Such aid must be mutually agreed upon in the interest of helping the recipient himself and without compromising his political independence. It will not do just to subsidize other countries for our defense. Support for economic fulfillment, spiritual freedom, national justice—this is defense indeed for us all. A relatively small enlargement of our Gross National Production given to such aid would cover all the governmental and private aid which could now be effectively absorbed by the underdeveloped countries.

Democracy, Like Charity, Must Begin at Home

"We cannot separate the policies of our country from the quality of our life as a people. Often what we do within our own borders contradicts our professed convictions concerning justice and freedom for all men. We have made great progress in overcoming poverty and in securing economic opportunities for our people as a whole. We have also come a long distance from the atmosphere of fear and intimidation in relation to the expression of opinions which prevailed a few years ago. But we face a grave crisis in relation to the civil rights of Negro citizens and other racial minorities.

"We reaffirm the declarations of the National Council of Churches and of many denominational bodies which express strong support for the implementation of the decisions of the Supreme Court concerning school integration. We are aware of the delicate problems in many communities but we call upon the churches to give strong support for policies in each state which provide for positive steps towards the integration of schools and the overcoming of all interference with political rights and of all other disabilities from which any racial group now suffers.

"The Churches must begin with themselves. There is a great gulf between what they say on a national or denominational level and what they do or encourage or permit in many communities. The Churches should call upon the Federal Government, both the President and the Congress, to give strong leadership in favor of policies of desegregation."

The Churches Must Oppose 'Massive Resistance', Discrimination and Genocide

"A) We ask our fellow churchmen to give careful consideration to the selection of political leaders who will challenge the forces of massive retaliation and other forms of the defiance of the Supreme Court's decision.

"B) We also call upon our fellow churchmen to work to overcome segregation in all areas including housing, public services and economic or occupational opportunities.

"C) Also we believe that Churches should support the ratification of the genocide convention and be prepared to support the ratification of adequate covenants relative to human rights.

—*Final Recommendations to National Council Churches.*

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The Gore Proposal Is A Teller Idea the White House Rejected Last Spring

Will the Democrats Turn Up to the Right of Ike on Nuclear Testing?

In his unsuccessful campaign earlier this year to block negotiations for an agreement to end nuclear tests, Dr. Edward Teller put forward several alternative suggestions. One was the idea now advanced by Senator Gore (*D. Tenn.*) that testing be limited to underground explosions. This would make an international inspection agreement unnecessary, since atmospheric blasts can be detected from great distances.

Limiting tests to the subsoil would end pollution of the air by radioactive fallout. But the Gore-Teller plan would allow the nuclear arms race and development of new nuclear weapons to go on. This is its virtue in the eyes of the AEC, the Pentagon and the State Department.

Dr. Hans Bethe of the President's Science Advisory Committee called this proposal "very dangerous" when he appeared in executive session before the Humphrey disarmament subcommittee last April 16. "This I consider not a solution of our main problem," Dr. Bethe says in the published transcript, "because our main problem is to stop their development." At this point (see Part 17, page 1544 of those hearings), the record bears the tantalizing notation "[Deleted]."

What the Security Censor Cut Out

It is not difficult to guess at Dr. Bethe's security-censored objections if one goes back and studies the testimony given earlier that day by Dr. Teller.

In the first place, limiting tests to small underground explosions does not mean limiting nuclear development to smaller weapons. "With the help of small tests," Dr. Teller testified (p. 1456), "One can improve one's big weapons."

In the second place, continued testing may develop ways to stage nuclear explosions in secret. At present, with inspection, even small underground tests can be detected. But, as Dr. Teller testified, "by testing small explosions, one is learning more and more about the way how [sic] bigger explosions can be hidden." Dr. Bethe may not think it to mankind's advantage to make an enforcible test cessation agreement impossible by discovering methods for eluding inspection.

Another important point emerges from Dr. Teller's testimony. The present stage of development makes limited nuclear war a dubious proposition. Dr. Teller disparages the danger of radioactive fallout from tests but that from nuclear weapons in war-time, he admitted, "can have and I think will have devastating consequences." The fallout might destroy our own troops and the land and people they were defending.

Do We Want That "Clean" Bomb?

Limited nuclear warfare requires a "clean" bomb, i.e. a thermonuclear fusion bomb, which can be exploded without a trigger of "dirty" fissionable material. We have yet to find a way to make such a bomb, nor are we sure it can be done. "If we stop nuclear tests," Dr. Teller testified, "then we have made a further step in the direction of making the use of nuclear explosives very difficult and virtually impossible even in a limited way." But, to paraphrase those war-time travel ads, is this further step necessary?

Dr. Bethe may feel that we would be better off if spared this new model bomb. For one thing, its cleanliness is in doubt; fusion also produces radioactivity. For another, it would put limitless boom-boom in the hands of the smallest nations. Thermonuclear raw materials are cheap and widespread; the facilities for production, unlike the huge plants required for fissionable materials, could be easily hidden. Policing of output will be impossible.

Dr. Teller's idea is that by giving out small nuclear weapons to our small allies they could hold off attacks by "hordes" of Russians or Chinese. But what if the hordes are also equipped, as they will be if testing continues, with the same weapons? And what if our allies use these weapons in feuds with their own neighbors? Life on this plant will not be safer when these new firecrackers are available.

The Bethe and Teller points of view were argued out at the White House last spring. The President decided that the safer course was to try and negotiate an end to tests altogether. The Geneva talks were initiated as a result of that decision. Will the Democrats now take up the arguments Ike rejected and, without persevering in the current talks, ditch them for the Teller-Gore proposal?

I. F. Stone Speaks on: Can We Stop The Drift to World War III?
Milwaukee: Turners Hall, 1034 N. 4th St., Dec. 5, 8:30 p.m.
Detroit: McGregor Center, Wayne State Univ., 2d Blvd. & Ferry, Dec. 6, 8:30 p.m.

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